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E.O. 11652: GDS TAGS: SHUM, TZ

SUBJECT: DRAFT HUMAN RIGHTS PLAN FOR TANZANIA

REF: STATE 144414

1. MISSION BELIEVES DRAFT PLAN STRIKES THE RIGHT BALANCE IN OUTLINING POSSIBLE COURSES OF ACTION WHILE INDICATING DIFFICULTIES OF INFLUENCING TANZANIA'S HUMAN RIGHTS PERFORMANCE. BY WAY OF BACKGROUND, WE WOULD LIKE TO EMPHASIZE TWO POINTS.

A. TANGOV HAS BEEN AMONG THOSE WHICH HAVE LOOKED WITH INTEREST AT HUMAN RIGHTS EMPHASIS IN US FOREIGN POLICY. IT STRIKES A BASICALLY RESPONSIVE CHORD WITH PRESIDENT NYERERE. THERE IS LITTLE OR NOTHING IN PRINCIPLE WITH WHICH HE WOULD DISAGREE. IN PRACTICE, HOWEVER, TANZANIA'S RECORD LEAVES ROOM FOR IMPROVEMENT. TANGOV SENSITIVITIES ALLOW LITTLE SCROPE FOR OBTAINING IMPROVEMENT DIRECTLY. WE SHOULD INSTEAD ATTEMPT TO DRAW TANZANIA MORE INTO THE MAINSTREAM OF ENLIGHTENED PRACTICE ON HUMAN RIGHTS WITH THE EXPECTATION THAT TANZANIA WOULD FEEL OBLIGED TO ADJUST TO A CHANGED WORLD CLIMATE.

B. IT WILL PROBABLY TAKE A WHILE BEFORE TANGOV IS CONVINCED US IS SERIOUS ABOUT HUMAN RIGHTS. IN TANGOV OUTLOOK, THE MOST CRITICAL HUMAN RIGHTS PROBLEMS ARE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. TANGOV CONFIDENTIAL

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BELIEVES THE UNITED STATES HAS IGNORED HUMAN RIGHTS TRANSGRESSIONS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA FOR A LONG TIME AND IS JUST BEGINNING TO GRASP THE DIMENSIONS OF THE PROBLEM.

2. WE HAVE A FEW MINOR SUGGESTIONS FOR PART A. SECTION ON "INTEGRITY OF THE PERSON" (A.1) COULD TAKE NOTE OF 1964 ZANZIBAR REVOLUTION WHICH CONSTITUTED A MASSACRE. IN SAME SECTION

MENTION COULD BE MADE THAT MEMBERS OF UNIFORMED SERVICES ARE NOT FEARED AND MINGLE EASILY WITH THE CIVILIAN POPULATION. PRECISE FIGURES ON POLITICAL PRISONERS AND DETAINEES REMAIN UNAVAILABLE.

- 3. LAST PARAGRAPH OF SECTION A. 1 DISCUSSES DETENTION OF LIBERATION MOVEMENT PERSONNEL. WE DO NOT BELIEVE IDEOLOGIES FIGURE IN TANGOV DECISIONS ON WHO SHOULD BE DETAINED. TANGOV HAS DETAINED MEMBERS OF RHODESIAN AND NAMIBIAN LIBERATION MOVEMENTS AT THE REQUEST OF THEIR LEADERS BECAUSE THE MOVEMENTS DO NOT HAVE THE FACILITIES TO DETAIN THEIR OWN DISSIDENTS. NYERERE BELIEVES THAT HELPING TO DETAIN A SMALL NUMBER OF DISSIDENTS HELPS THE MAJORITY GET ON WITH ESSENTIAL BUSINESS.
- 4. SECTION ON "ECONOMIC RIGHTS" (A.3). "STATE-RUN ENTERPRISES" SHOULD BE SUBSTITUTED FOR "COOPERATIVES". SUGGEST ADDING FOLLOWING SENTENCE AT END OF FIRST PARAGRAPH: "THE GOVERNMENT HAS RECENTLY PROMISED TO PAY COMPENSATION FOR THESE LOSSES."
- 5. SECTION ON "WILLINGNESS TO PERMIT OUTSIDE INVESTIGATION" (A.5) COULD TAKE NOTE OF SEMINAR IN DAR ES SALAAM IN SEPTEMBER 1976 SPONSORED BY INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION OF JURISTS ON "HUMAN RIGHTS, THEIR PROTECTION AND THE RULE OF LAW IN A ONE-PARTY STATE". SIX AFRICAN COUNTRIES, INCLUDING TANZANIA, PARTICIPATED. ICJ REPRESENTATIVES UNDERTOOK NO INVESTIGATIONS DURING THEIR STAY IN TANZANIA BUT TANGOV'S WILLINGNESS TO HOST CONFERENCE OF THIS NATURE IS SIGNIFICANT.

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- 6. WITH RESPECT TO LAST SENTENCE IN SECTION A.5, WE WONDER ABOUT STATEMENT THAT OUTCOME OF ZANZIBAR TREASON TRIAL AFFECTED BY ZANZIBAR'S AUTONOMY. WE ARE UNABLE TO JUDGE ACCURACY OF STATEMENT AND BELIEVE IT COULD LEAD TO CONCLUSIONS WHICH ALSO MIGHT BE UNSUPPORTABLE.
- 7. IN SECTION ON "LIKELY US INFLUENCE" (B.2), US AID PROGRAM IS NOT QUITE ACCURATELY DESCRIBED. SUGGEST RELEVANT SENTENCE READ "WITH A MEDIUM-SIZED AID PROGRAM, THE US DOES NOT RANK AMONG TANZANIA'S TOP DONORS."
- 8. WE SUGGEST THE FOLLOWING SUBSTITUTE WORDING FOR THE SECTION ON EFFECTIVENESS (4) WHICH TAKES INTO ACCOUNT OUR VIEWS IN PARAGRAPH 1 ABOVE:

"OUR LACK OF LEVERAGE MAKES IT DIFFICULT FOR ANY OF THE ABOVE OPTIONS TO SIGNIFICANTLY CHANGE THE SITUATION INSIDE TANZANIA. FURTHERMORE, THE INEVITABLE HOSTILE REACTIONS FROM THE GOVERNMENT WOULD SEEM TO MAKE MOST PUBLIC EFFORTS COUNTERPRODUCTIVE AND COULD ADVERSELY IMPACT ON OUR SOUTHERN AFRICAN EFFORTS.

"WE SHOULD ATTEMPT TO DRAW TANZANIA MORE INTO THE MAINSTREAM OF ENLIGHTENED PRACTICE ON HUMAN RIGHTS WITH THE EXPECTATION THAT TANZANIA WOULD FEEL OBLIGED TO ADJUST TO A CHANGED WORLD CLIMATE. AT THE SAME TIME WE SHOULD BE ALERT TO THE POSSIBILITIES FOR ENGAGING IN A CONSTRUCTIVE DIALOGUE ON HUMAN RIGHTS IN TANZANIA.

"WE COULD INITIALLY DRAW ON A CONCERN EXPRESSED BY PRESIDENT NYERERE HIMSELF -- THAT LOCAL OFFICIALS OVERUSE THEIR DETENTION AUTHORITY -- AND PERHAPS ENCOURAGE MOTION TOWARDS ALLOWING ONLY ONE CENTRAL AUTHORITY TO AUTHORIZE DETENTIONS. THIS WOULD BE ON THE PATH TO SEEKING THE ELIMINATION OF DETENTIONS. COMPLETELY. IT WOULD BEST BE DONE PRIVATELY, NOTING THAT TANZANIAN ACCOMPLISHMENTS IN IMPROVING THE ECONOMIC STATUS OF ITS POOR AND THE STRIDES MADE TOWARD SELF-RELIANCE HAVE GIVEN TANZANIA A FAVORABLE CONFIDENTIAL

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IMAGE WHICH IS INCONSISTENT WITH SUCH HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS AS DETENTION WITHOUT TRIAL AND THE HOLDING OF POLITICAL PRISONERS." SPAIN

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